

[P. 44b]

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, 783 the Wowol, opposite them on the east side.

This dividing was called wak'oi was and made the sides yet ka yet (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa'os:l. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("m:m tulun. hi na ma hi nasu mun:n").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might 524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hat:m) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all night. Some people who had special super- 535 natural powers might dance also. Oto'ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not t:pni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquin, a Telamni chief at Piseras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquin and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o'po (Bill Osborn), Wak-sachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono'len:n. Their son was crying. Some Wak-chumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identify them. The Waksachi called the Wakchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

[C16]

CP. 130 a] Wakchiman

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and  
767 thrown over their shoulders into the baskets.  
When the dance ended the tonosim retired with  
their goods and then, giving a great shout,  
they all ran to the river to swim. (Although  
this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is  
[783] purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants  
agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus  
nor were they considered unclean after they had  
performed a burial service.)

#### Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent  
in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners might look forward to release from their grief.  
[52] These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

[P. 1306] Wukchunwi

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

#### Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those the Wakeschi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

[285  
171] The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soap-root were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bange. [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. [465  
431] The washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

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237] During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around (the purpose of this I could not discover), got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of the meat tabu for the bereaved. [262] The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

[P. 151 b] Choinimni

783 CEREMONY. All waiting was done on the morning of the sixth day, the Huhuna Dance in the afternoon, after which the usual games and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was  
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety  
616 opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as "washers," but often the Alticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest (he 'šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušl:ln and Kapl:ln are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyeš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" (praying to) the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "h'! h'! h'!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl:ln.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called sha'na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta'wats nao ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[sic, of the mourning ceremony. - Analyst]

[P. 152 a] CHOINIMJi

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day, the ritual washing (•pla'o'iša) was performed. 783 The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment after the washing ritual.

Guksai.---This informant had never heard the word gu'ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 Bear Dance.---As described by P.D.W. this 535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko'wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear was going to come out." Most positively, P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done 535 in the fall of the year and that, if requested, 424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

[P. 174 b] Kechayi

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe'biyu, was a  
756 participant. There were usually "four or five  
doctors on each side." The fires for their  
"airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some  
people cried while this was going on but they  
didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual---This rite (yuya 'hixo) was  
152 performed on the night of the fifth day. The  
reciprocal tribe had their winatums build a  
large fire. Four times during the night the  
mourners filed in and around the fire. The  
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls represent-  
ing their deceased relatives; these were dis-  
tinguished by sex, and a man carried a male  
doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners  
carried baskets, beads, and objects of value.  
While they were marching around, the visiting  
spokesman (yate',δ) rose and said, "Cry! This  
is the last time you will cry for a long time."  
After the fourth circuit of the fire had been  
made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies,  
stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads,  
feathers], which were distributed among the  
visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual---This duty (pla'ōša) was  
783 reciprocal by moiety.<sup>75</sup> First a woman from the  
visiting chief's family washed the face of the  
mourning chief: these two persons were of op-  
posite moieties. Then the others were washed,  
[616] each family by some other family of the op-  
posite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourn-  
ing families had with them money or food which  
they gave the washers, and in turn received  
new clothes.

769 Celebration---Thereafter all tabus were  
lifted from the mourners and the rest of the  
day and night was spent in feasting, games, and  
dancing. At night a dance would be made by  
some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt,  
wearing vertical head feathers, feather brace-  
lets, carrying "hand feathers," and having  
white paint on his body.

#### GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi  
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been pub-  
lished in full elsewhere;<sup>76</sup> a summary statement  
will suffice here.

[177] The Ghost Dance (solwiša kam, round dance;  
abbreviatedly called su'yu) was introduced to  
the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic]  
named Cuičui (JoiJoi), and a Western Mono-  
(Pajo'oj) companion. They urged everyone to  
come because "the father" and all the dead  
relatives would appear, and further, anyone who  
did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

<sup>75</sup>Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement,  
that if both T and M were mourning, the Choiniani came too,  
"because the Poagisa were gi'wi only for the Kechayi  
Nuwaiš."

<sup>76</sup>Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

EP. 193 a] Chuckchausi

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names  
 852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large  
 feast was supplied by the paternal family. When  
 the name was announced, everyone present cried;  
 then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother  
 had died in childbirth, the grandmother might  
 name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone  
 would cry at this. If the person whose name  
 was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor,  
 of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about  
 the age of one year, said J.R. The name en-  
 dured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another  
 relative would bestow her own name on the in-  
 fant. In such circumstances the name was not  
 tabu after the death of this relative; normally  
 the name of a dead person was not mentioned.  
 Also, usually, names were individual, so the  
 name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-  
 177 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name  
 had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this  
 use of "skunk" possibly white?]

846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.---About one  
 month after the birth of the first child (but  
 not after subsequent births) a celebration was  
 852 held for the mother by both parental families,  
 783 said N.W. A special three-pole structure had  
 been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?)  
 within which the woman's mother-in-law made a  
 round hole about two feet deep and the same in  
 diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in  
 the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood.  
 Then the young mother was placed on this to  
 "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and  
 made the woman well." Inside with her were her  
 mother and her sister or, if these were lacking,  
 an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's  
 closest female relative. The girl's mother was  
 continuously cooking acorn meal. The other  
 woman assisted the young mother. They all re-  
 mained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends  
 were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at  
 431 which the paternal and maternal families were  
 846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,  
 852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled  
 by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,  
 783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with  
 cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the  
 husband's mother." Her father called the  
 husband's parents to come get those things.  
 After taking off these objects, the husband's  
 mother replaced them with washing baskets,  
 blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit).  
 Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was  
 still within the shelter, picked her up and set  
 852 her on her feet. A large washing basket  
 783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was  
 brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis  
 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid  
 over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so  
 she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

[P. 1936] Chuck Chawsi

846 women relatives of the man's family did the  
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and  
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her.  
Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets  
to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid  
and took them home. At the same time the man's  
mother was presented with a large gift basket  
filled with the acorn mush which the wife's  
mother had prepared in the steaming shelter.  
This the man's mother took away to eat with her  
visitors.

[292] After the bath the young mother was  
arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-  
skin apron, and strings of beads around her  
waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she  
had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a  
[825] more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter  
[237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. --  
A.H.G.J. The two women relatives of the girl  
were also dressed in their best. It is not  
stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided  
the girl's attire, though such was normally  
Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the  
baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grand-  
mother received the washing basket. Like his  
mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments.  
He was shown to all the visitors.

431 A further exchange of gifts took place.  
846 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-  
852 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,  
783 etc., while the young father's family had pro-  
vided meat and baskets. The paternal and ma-  
ternal grandmothers then told each other that  
they had these gifts, and to go get them and  
take them home.<sup>121</sup>

Then feasting commenced around the two  
families' fires, which were not far apart. The  
young mother's family entertained all her rela-  
tives and friends who had come to celebrate  
with her, while her husband's family did the  
same for him. The young man's family feasted  
on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family,  
while the girl's family enjoyed the meat pro-  
vided by her husband's father. However, both  
groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita  
cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feast-  
ing.

[178] Today gifts are given at a child's birth,  
e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially,  
the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omit-  
ted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young  
mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get  
skinny now when they don't do that to us," at  
which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>121</sup>It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted  
home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed  
that, if the man's parents came from another village, they  
did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in  
such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the vil-  
lage they were visiting.

[262] <sup>122</sup>The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but  
it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s re-  
mark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from  
carelessness in such matters (cf. Wakchumani).

[P. 20] a] Chukchansi

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the ceremonial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau.

783 J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, feller, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertainment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.<sup>133</sup> Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

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meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

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The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a 'ktač (S.O.); called we'čip if a boy, and wi'tep if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather of some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni'sa, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila'la, who lived at Sohonto (Ko'onikwel) was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

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The mother's cleansing ritual (epla'ho' unu'malo", washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)<sup>278</sup> came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

<sup>278</sup>The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

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the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma'kái) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

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The cradle (akh:láč), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

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The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wild-cat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

#### Puberty

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When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

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On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (špla'oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deer-skin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

[P. 237 a] Western Mono NS25

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Burial took place the morning after death.<sup>175</sup> All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north (sic), the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonocim, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

Afterworld.---A dead person's spirit is called tawa'tsan i'nai (Michahai), tso'ape o'haba'wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

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The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight (it does not go up). There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tib: kn:6).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

<sup>175</sup>A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

[P. 238 a] Western Mono NS 25

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"Little Mourning Ceremony".---This rite (wi'č'i luni'sa) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.<sup>177</sup> The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu'1, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

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[571]W  
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When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted (washers). The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

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When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe'nē) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

<sup>177</sup>S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him (sic) when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To'pine (Jim Britches).

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769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

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[783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W  
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769 There was no money exchange for interest (lakina 'n:č) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money 426 privately to meet the expense.

## SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

### Training and Practice

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756 The acquisition and uses of supernatural 778 power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

CP 250 a Western Mono NS 25

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The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

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The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)<sup>197</sup> secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

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No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (alkaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao šiko).

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Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

<sup>197</sup>At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu'buhiñanu-widi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

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The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

#### Recent Mourning Ceremony

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The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna'ncai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

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[783]

B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they

[P. 25] Western Mono N° 25

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returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated again before sundown. During these days S.O. and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. frequently talking in consoling terms to B.O., telling him that this was the end of our sorrow.

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[578]

On the sixth (Saturday) night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu'1, i.e., the reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, but none of these people came, though invited, owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihah, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi nak, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuted the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."<sup>15</sup> Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

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Then Tillie and Dinky [mourners] "got a basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O. for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking, telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and \$5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'1 there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

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The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

<sup>15</sup>This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

[P. 252.] Western Mono

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within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

## GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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The reports of three informants were combined in another paper<sup>199</sup> to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka'mar soi'w:š) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

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[177]

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta'punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya'ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta'kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo'wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

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The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

<sup>199</sup>Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

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"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

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[775]

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.<sup>200</sup> After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa 'o'sao pa'a n'm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the day-time. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i'n'il). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

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Tapuna'ci also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reemphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he 'bar:n, he 'baya, he 'nani  
 [repeated over and over]

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Y  
[535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

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Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

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[517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>200</sup>Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

<sup>201</sup>S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already 769  
liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble.  
Other valuables are burned with the images.

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many 532  
remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts 184  
tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing 431  
until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of  
a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief  
mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for  
the guests, wanders through the village crying.

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many  
features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok,  
whose *yataka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There  
are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief  
is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar  
abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term  
it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the  
Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luisefio, and no doubt most  
other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a  
counterclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang  
valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the  
circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the  
men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed  
property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or  
*yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visit- 783  
ors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by wash-  
ing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been  
steeped.

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite  
cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply  
dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by  
the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact  
over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of  
each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with  
violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a  
circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for 302  
the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the  
Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most 293  
elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and  
long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among  
the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them,  
both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her  
from her place, and the couple dance before the double row.

- 796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

## III

- 182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

- 182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, official status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

- 182 This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a